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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

/126 cont./

651 553 The only case in which custom governs the choice of name is that of twins.

Male twins are called Adam and Agosu.

Boy and girl twins are called Adam and Efa (2).

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2. This is connected with a myth derived from the Biblical tradition, which we shall set forth later.

Female twins are called Chimba and Sisi.

Social Relations within the Lineage

429 604 [593] Guardianship. Until he is old enough to work, the child is placed under the responsibility of the mother and, one step farther away, that of the eldest of his classificatory uncles. To a lesser degree all the uncles have authority over the child; guardianship is collective.

The custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to any division of the lineage, does not recognize any right peculiar to the mother's brothers (still, in fact, they seem to be consulted by preference about matters of small importance). For serious matters, such as authorizing a marriage, the classificatory uncles meet and deliberate; they do not vote, strictly speaking, but the proved opposition of three or four of them causes the project to be abandoned. [584]

429 593 604 [836] It is to the mother that people will come to complain about the child, and not to the father. She it is who decides to refer the thing to the uncles if it is serious (example of Doni, 18 years old, who deflowered Elina, 15 years old. Elina's mother came to complain to Doni's mother. Doni's mother went to notify her older brother Fintiman, who took the matter in hand).

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429 604 It is necessary to distinguish this principal guardianship, which is imprescriptible, from the secondary guardianship delegated by the uncles to the man or woman charged with bringing up the child. /127/

429 593 604 [858] Designation of the guardian. When a child reaches five or six years, the mother and the uncles decide who will be charged with his education and will become his guardian. The thought of the Refugee Blacks is that a child is much better educated if he is isolated and placed directly under the responsibility of an adult.

429 593 604 603 In order to decide who will bring up the child, they do not have a general meeting of the lineage. Everything is arranged among the mother and her brothers proper, the maternal grandmother, and the great-grandmother if she is still living. The child's classificatory uncles are consulted only if there are no uncles in the ordinary sense. Grandmothers have a preponderant influence in this decision as they do in all that concerns the child during his early years. The uncles' influence increases as the child advances in age.

429 There is no precise rule for the devolution of this guardianship, and nobody can take advantage of a right over the child.

[604] The guardian, male or female, carries out the responsibility of the education, but he can make no decision without asking the opinion of the uncles, whose decision is final. The guardianship can always be withdrawn.

This guardianship is exercised by one single person, man or woman.

429 593 It is very often the mother. In a large number of cases the mother raises her children, boys and girls, alone, with the cooperation of her husband, who often is not the father. Actually the husband has no rights over them. Whether the children

/127 cont./

429 593 [586] are his or not, he maintains them indirectly by maintaining his wife. He has only precarious authority. Every connection with the children disappears in case of divorce.

429 603 [604] [593] Guardianship is often exercised by the maternal grandmother, by an aunt, or even by an older sister.

If the maternal grandmother (or the great-grandmother if she is still living) insists on bringing up a child, the mother cannot refuse; one sees a rather large number of cases of women who have only one child and have given it to their mother to raise; it is true that since they live together, it is not a great sacrifice for the mother.

429 603 886 [163] [165] Thus one sees women over 70 years old, having had ten children or so, bringing up three or four of their grandchildren. The ancestress of Asisi village, Kuiuba († 1957), after having had 12 children, brought up about ten of her children and grandchildren during the course of her long existence; when she died in 1957 at 100 years of age, she was still raising a child, one of her great-grandsons 12 years old. Of course she had not been working any more for a long time and was fed by her family, as the child was. But it was she who held the power of guardianship over him.

429 593 If it is the father who is charged with the child's education, he takes him into his own maternal family. His sisters will help him to bring up the child as long as he needs the presence of a woman.

From then on the father will exercise guardianship corresponding to that which the mother usually exercises under the responsibility of the uncles.

Sometimes a man is seen bringing up a daughter. Generally speaking, if a man /128/ has had three or more children by one woman, it is considered normal for him to be given one to raise, but that does not constitute a right; he cannot demand anything.

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593 152 429 One of the commonplaces of ethnographic literature is the feeling of frustration that the father would experience in a matrilineal system when he is separated from his children. Thoughts heard every now and then could allow one to believe in the existence of such a feeling among the Refugee Blacks. For example Balna, of Asisi village, tells us one day with bitterness: "I have had eight children, all living, and I have been given only one to bring up." But this is only a pretense. No Refugee Black thinks seriously of bringing up the five or six children he has had in the course of his life by three or four [469] different women. Besides, this would be materially impossible for him, considering the mode of life of the Refugee Blacks and the necessity for the adult men to move ceaselessly in search [163] of paid work. For example, by encouraging Balna to tell the basis for his thought, it was not difficult to understand that he would have liked to raise two or three of his eight children (born of four different women), the ones he loved for subjective reasons; the others scarcely interested him and it was all the same to him whether they were brought up here or there.

429 152 [601] In reality the paternal feeling of the Refugee Blacks is a rather subjective thing; raising a son or a nephew is the same in their eyes. The same paternal feeling will develop, and in both cases they will say "my son" and "my father."

593 429 Mothers give their children to be raised with the greatest of ease, especially within the lineage.

[163] For example Eliana (Dju, F8), about 45 years old in 1957, who had nine living children, was raising only four:

△	Alibi	1937	raised by his father Matapi (Asisi-Aw.B.);
△	Doni	1939	raised by his maternal grandmother Bémiti (Dju, E5);
○	Agoba	1940	raised by Lènga (F36), Eliana's classificatory sister (tenth-degree kinship);
△	A...	1943	raised by his father Yusu (Papalaton);

593 /128 cont./
429 ○S... 1947 raised by Kulina, Eliana's sister by the same mother (Dju. E9);
○S... 1947 raised by her mother

and three young children raised by their mother.

[163] One sees unusual situations like that of Mimi (Boniville, Kotika), who gave her only child to her sister to raise and is bringing up another child in its place.

[163] In 1957, Téké (Ll. F44, Loka village), who had seven living children, was not bringing up any of them.

△ C... 1945 raised by Mélita, Téké's mother (Ll. E32);
△ A... 1947 raised by Akomédi (Ll. F34), Téké's classificatory sister;
△ M... 1950 raised by Mélita;
△ C... 1952 raised by his father Balna (Dip. II);
○ K... 1953 raised by △ Mato (Aw.B.1), her father Balna's father;
○ F... 1956 raised by Mélita. /129/

Balna, whom we have known for a long time, was incapable of giving the least explanation for his wife's strange behavior. Besides, he had given up a long time ago understanding the psychology of Boni women.

On the other hand, a certain number of women obstinately refuse to be separated from their children, deciding to raise them all, girls and boys, by their own means. This was the [163] case for example with Magdaléna (Kormotibo), a woman of intractable character, who raised her eight children herself at [823] the cost of the worst difficulties. In such a case, they say of the mother that she is a selfish woman and that she has a bad character, but there is no question of taking a child away from her by force. Nobody would risk that, no more her brothers or uncles than the head of the lineage. Only her mother could do it, and the women who behave thus have generally lost their mothers.

/129 cont./

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602 The conditions under which children are brought up throw a strong light on the thought of the Refugee Blacks relative to kinship and are worth a special study.

[125] In the course of an investigation carried on from October to December, 1957, we were able to record with precision under what conditions had been raised 311 persons distributed thus:

Male sex	born before 1936 (education finished). . . .	73
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process) (1)	88
Female sex	born before 1936 (education finished) . . .	72
	born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive (education in process)	78
	Total	311

1. Study of the case of children born after 1949 was of no interest because the definite assignment of their guardianship was not yet made at the end of the year 1957.

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Raised by:	Male Sex			Female Sex		
	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average	born before 1936	from 1936 to 1949	average
Mother	together 58%	42%	55% 52.5%	together 69%	56%	68% 68.5%
Maternal grandmother		13%			12%	
A woman of the maternal lineage . . .	8%	12%	10%	13%	15%	14%
A man of the maternal lineage . . .	9%	4%	6.5%	2%	3%	2.5%
Father	27%	18%	22.5%	13%	6%	9.5%
Father's mother . . .	2%	3%	2.5%	0%	3%	1.5%
A person of the paternal lineage . .	1%	3%	2%	1%	3%	2%
An outsider to both lineages	2%	4%	3%	1%	3%	2%

:Hurault--189 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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Raised by

Table I.- Men born before 1936

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Mother	Maternal Grand-mother	A Woman of the Mother's Lineage	A Man of the Mother's Lineage	Father	Father's Mother	A Person of the Father's Lineage	An Outsider to Both Lineages
41/88 47 %	3/88 3 %	7/88 8 %	8/88 9 %	24/88 27 %	2/88 2 %	1/88 1 %	2/88 2 %

together 50%(2)

Table II. -Boys born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

37/73 49 %	10/73 13 %	9/73 12 %	3/73 4 %	13/73 18 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %	3/73 4 %

Table III. - Women born before 1936

46/78 59 %	8/78 10 %	10/78 13 %	2/77 2 %	10/78 13 %	0	1/78 1 %	1/78 1 %

together 69%(2)

Table IV. - Girls born from 1936 to 1949 inclusive

40/73 54 %	9/73 12 %	11/73 15 %	2/73 3 %	4/73 6 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %	2/73 3 %

(1) The symbol ⟨ represents individuals who, raised outside their lineage, did not come back to it when their education was finished.

(591) (2) Since the mother and grandmother live together most often, informants may confuse them when it is a question of persons whose education has been finished for a long time.

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429 Recapitulation:
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613 70% of the boys
85% of the girls are raised in the mother's lineage

27% of the boys
13% of the girls are raised in the father's lineage

3% of the boys
2% of the girls are raised by outsiders to both lineages.

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858 It is important, moreover, to emphasize in what proportion
562 the children are brought up by women or men:

67% of the boys
86% of the girls are raised by women

33% of the boys
12% of the girls are raised by men.

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562 This preponderant role of women in the education of the
571 children is one of the fundamental aspects of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks. In fact, women consider that the children belong to them, and if they give some to men to bring up, it is
[191] only as many as they wish to. This conception which is found to be widespread among the Blacks of America, in the West Indies as in Guiana, explains, much more than the frequency of divorces, the impossibility for them to make up patrilineages in the absence of coercion exerted upon the women.

429 Several important pieces of information may still be drawn from these tables:

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429 198 1) They show the continuity and vitality of the custom of the Refugee Blacks. The proportion of boys and girls brought up by the mother, the paternal grandmother, the father, etc. is noticeably constant from one generation to the other. There is no tendency for the proportion of children raised by the father to increase; it even seems to decrease, which may be related to the increasing instability of marriages. In fact, in spite of European influences, no evolution is observed toward patrilineal structures among the Refugee Blacks.

429 613 591 2) The fact that part of the children are raised outside of their own lineage has few consequences for the unity of the group; for most of them, when their education is finished, come to settle down in one of the villages belonging to their lineage.

Of 88 men born before 1936, 28 were raised outside their lineage; 21 of them came back to it; only seven, or less than 8 per cent, settled down in other lineages.

Of 78 women born before 1936, 12 were raised outside their lineage, of whom only four, or 5 per cent, settled permanently outside their group.

868 462 Education of children. If the education of girls does not necessitate a difficult apprenticeship, it is not the same for boys; the sum of knowledge that /132/ a Refugee Black must possess to carry out effectively the techniques of his group is considerable. In particular, he must:

--Know more than 200 kinds of trees with their uses, the way to fell them, the way to work their wood;

--Be capable of constructing boats of at least 10 kegs (1,000 kilograms of load). This technique alone requires several years of apprenticeship;

--Acquire sufficient knowledge of carpenter work to build his house and that of his wife;

--Learn how to handle boats on the river and the techniques of transport boating.

/132 cont./

868 [501] To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever 513 he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 871 156 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula, Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

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C48 891 156 difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

861 In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own 868 initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

561 462 Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

429 86 Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

866 461 434 [291] The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

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866 461 434 made for sale, the guardian gives him a small sum out of the money gained. At 14 an adolescent begins to satisfy nearly all his own needs.

883 465 For example, from June to December, 1956, Tasa (14 years), son of Fintiman (Boniville) had earned about 13,000 francs:

June	helped his father build a large boat for the administration (45 days)	6,000
October	went to Saint-Laurent as auxiliary bossman .	3,000
December	helped convoy a boat of the border-fixing mission sent back empty to Maripasoula . .	4,000
		13,000

882 868 His father, entrusted with his education, let him use this money in his own way; he pointed out to us with pride that for the first time in 1956 his son had been able to satisfy all his own needs, but that it was important to keep him under a firm hand until he was capable of doing a man's work alone: for that, five or six years of apprenticeship would not be too much.

868 561 [153] [582] [178] In fact, many times we had the chance to verify it, it is in this prolonged apprenticeship that are developed the seriousness of mind and the technical skill so remarkable among the Refugee Blacks. At 20 years, most of them still do not know how to do anything worthwhile, and it is scarcely before 25 or 27 that they become capable of /134/ painstaking work; in this respect the present tendency of the young boys toward precocious emancipation (the marriage age of men is going down to 20 and even 18 years) runs the risk of having very unfortunate consequences for the future of the Refugee Blacks.

429 [582] [583] The person charged with the education of a girl exercises the powers of a mother toward her. It is she who authorizes her to marry, and by giving her the pāngi, married women's garment, gives her symbolically her freedom as a woman. It is to her that the first husband pays the price of the virginity of the girl.

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429 561 861 582 Until very recent times the authority of the guardian had remained very strong and was prolonged very late; he had the right to strike his ward to make him obey, and he exercised his powers until the time when, judging the child's education finished, he authorized him to marry, which formerly seldom happened before 25-27 years.

Fintiman (of Boniville), about 50 years old in 1958, tells that his father, entrusted with his upbringing, did not authorize him to marry before he was completely established as a carpenter and boat-builder, at about the age of 27. Until that age he remained subject to the most tyrannical authority; his father intended especially to forbid him to go out in the evening, and in order to carry on a clandestine affair he had to use nocturnal fishing expeditions as a pretext!

429 884 When a boy's guardian judges his education finished, he helps him to build his house and gives him tools, a trunk containing clothes, and a hammock. Henceforward the boy must make his own way in life.

429 576 601 All during his lifetime he will continue to show the greatest respect to the person who raised him and often, speaking of that person, he will say: "my father" or "my mother."

601 When a Refugee Black says in the course of a conversation, "My father used to do this," he often means the man who brought him up; if he wishes to speak of his true father, he will say, "My own father who made me." Likewise when he says "My grandfather," he usually means a great-uncle. This confusion makes research on family life risky as long as one does not possess any census by names; apparently it has led several authors into error, making them believe that among the Refugee Blacks the father brings up his children himself, when this is on the contrary the exception.

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429 The guardian continues to have a certain power all his life over his ward become adult. He is the conciliator to whom one applies first if there is any complaint about his ward.

This power of conciliation is bequeathed by the guardian at his death, as is the guardianship itself.

593 613 152 Role of the mother. For the Refugee Blacks, the sacred tie is pre-eminently the one which attaches them to their mother and through her to the ancestors of the lineage. It is manifested with respect to the mother by a delicate and deep feeling of affection which applies also, less directly, to the close relatives on the maternal side and to all the members of the lineage. It is not [601] idly that within the lineage the men call one another brothers; the obligations /135/ they have toward one another are accepted by all with joy, and each tries his best to fulfill them, for he transposes to them the sentiment of love which he feels toward his mother.

114 562 593 The term matriarchy has often been used wrongly with regard to the Refugee Blacks, letting people believe that the woman exercises authority there; this is an error, the woman does not enter their councils and from a political point of view does not exist in their eyes; the woman has influence and authority only as mother, and over her own children.

593 The mother's authority remains very great over her sons after they have become men; none of them will undertake an important enterprise or leave for a long trip without consulting his mother; if she is absolutely opposed to the project, he will scarcely dare go on with it. We heard in December, 1952 a man of 45, M..., serious and intelligent, say to us with regret: "I would certainly go with you as far as Cayenne, but my mother does not wish it."

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593 428 The nature of the relations with the mother is shown by the custom of inheritance. /136/ If a man dies while his mother is still living, his belongings return to her. She may keep them or divide them among the members of the lineage.

593 Role of the father. The father has no power over the children, but in general he is respected by them and his sons make no important decision without asking for his opinion.

In the very frequent case where the guardianship of the children is entrusted to the mother, the father exercises a de facto authority as long as the family group lasts. But in case of its break-up he loses any right over the children.

In general the father loves his children very much, but in the way Europeans love their nephews, he avoids taking a hand too closely in their education, which is the responsibility of the uncles, who might invite him not to busy himself with family affairs.

593 429 591 But if the father has received the guardianship of one or several children, the situation is completely different. If the family group breaks up, he takes them along with him. Besides, as a general rule, even if he gets along well with his wife, he settles in his own village the children whose guardianship has been entrusted to him, close to his maternal family; henceforth it is he who will provide entirely not only for their maintenance but for their food; except for periods when the husband spends some time with them near his wife, the latter no longer has to feed them.

593 429 If the father has received the guardianship of a child, he can in turn delegate it under his responsibility to someone of his lineage. We have noted several examples of this practice. For example Afoondo (Aw.B.1, F56), about 23 years old in 1957, had been entrusted to his father Koniman (Lapé), who had himself turned him over to his own mother Awènkina.

593 429 769 591 /136 cont./

The fact that some children are under the guardianship of their father changes nothing about their position with respect to ancestor worship and does not entail any payment or compensation whatever on the part of the father. When the child has grown up he will be able to come back to live in his maternal kin group (which he does most often) or stay in his father's village. On this point there is no precise customary obligation.

593 884 The father plays an important role with respect to the [illegible] children when they reach manhood; he procures their ɔbia for them and transmits the knowledge and magical powers which he himself received from his father.

429 428 Inheritance of guardianship. At the death of the guardian, his office is bequeathed in the same way as his goods and according to the same principle of dispersion of the inheritance. If he was raising several children, the guardianship of each one will be bequeathed individually.

For example Béniti († 1944) was raising ○K... 1944, daughter of her daughter Baïkom, and ○W... 1942, daughter of her son Fintiman and a woman of Papaïston village. She bequeathed the first to her daughter Kulina, the second to her daughter Baïkom settled in Loka village. W... thus found herself taken to a village which was neither that of her maternal nor her paternal relatives. Such cases are not rare. The child's uncles, who in principle could take back the guardianship, never seem to oppose, in practice, its being bequeathed. /137/

The spiritual power kept by the guardian over his ward after he becomes adult is bequeathed in the same manner. Thus, in the preceding example, Béniti († 1955) /sic/ bequeathed the spiritual tutelage she was keeping over each one of her adult sons and daughters whom she had raised herself, in part to outsiders to her lineage.

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428 She bequeathed thus her guardianship over Fintiman (46 years) to the grand man
over Klémenti (43 years) to Samalobi, the grand man's brother
over ○ Kulina (38 years) to Samalobi
over ○ Eliana (40 years) to the grand man.

But she bequeathed nothing concerning her last two children, ○ Baïkom (35 years) and ○ Maria (28) respectively brought up by △ Malobi, Béniti's husband, and by ○ Aliki, an old woman of the Dju lineage. It will behoove these two persons to bequeath, at their death, the spiritual tutelage over the girls they have raised.

Marriage

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It is for lack of a more appropriate word that we use the word "marriage" with respect to the Refugee Blacks; the word concubinage is unpleasant to use; nevertheless it fits better what the union of a man and woman represents in the thought of the Refugee Blacks as in their social life.

In the organization we have just described no stable and permanent tie between a man and woman is implied.

831 Actually the Refugee Blacks, with rare exceptions, appear to be incapable of associating a strong and lasting emotional tie with sexual union. They are unstable in this respect, always in search of new adventures and not settling on any one. Their unions are more inspired by material concern (getting the

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585 613 The head of the lineage calls a classificatory sister of the girl. He takes her by the hand and leads her to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this woman."

Then he calls a classificatory brother of the girl. He leads him to the suitor's envoy, saying: "I give thee this man."

This second part of the ceremony is purely symbolic; there is no question at all that this man and this woman are marrying. Its purpose seems to be to show the perfect equality of the man and the woman in the marriage.

[969] The words pronounced in the invocation to the ancestors are: "We give (this) woman to (this) man; may they live together, may they not be sick, may they have children, children who live."

[584] There is no need for the assent of the woman's father.

585 [583] If it is a question of the first marriage of a young girl, the fiancé comes, aided by his friends, to build her a house. He builds her a boat and buys for her what is necessary for domestic life. When the person who is bringing up the girl judges the time to be ripe, she gives her the pãŋgi, garment of married women, authorizing thus the consummation of the marriage.

[429]

[613] [969] The husband who built the house asks the elders of his wife's lineage to come in front of the house to throw tafia, to ask the ancestors that the couple be fecund and live a long time in this house.

584 613 Here, for example, is how the marriage proposal to Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43, Asisi village) by Déési (L1, F45, Loka village) proceeded in 1948.

To represent him Déési had sent his classificatory brother Tamu /144/ (L1, F32), older than he by about 15 years, and his classificatory aunt, Yaana (L1, E39). (See the genealogical table of the Lapé lineage.)

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583 A girl's marriage does not involve any dowry in the African sense of the term, but it involves payment of the price of virginity to the mother. This payment is made after consummation of the marriage (or after defloration if there has been a clandestine union). It consists of seven pieces of cloth, a demijohn of tafia, and various imported objects (the whole representing in 1958 about 8,000 francs, which is relatively small for the Refugee Blacks). It really has to do with the price of virginity, for nothing is paid back if there is a break-up. The man moreover gives the girl white beads /possibly "pearls" --Tr./, red cloth, and sweetmeats which constitute the payment of her akka.

[429] The price of virginity is paid to the person who has raised the girl, even if it is a man. This person divides it equally with the mother or, if the latter is dead, with the mother's sisters.

For example, for O Baïkom (D,u, F10), brought up by her father Malobi in Loka village, her husband Moomu (Kotika) paid the price of virginity to Malobi who shared it with his wife Béniti.

[604] [613] No payment is made to the uncles or to the head of the lineage.

836 [599] The fact that a girl may carry on a clandestine affair and be deflowered without having been properly proposed to is considered a shame for the mother; but if the seducer confesses and pays the price of virginity, honor is restored.

Defloration does not necessarily entail marriage, for the seducer does not always intend to take on the maintenance of a household.

If the girl is deflowered too young, her mother does not give her the pãŋgi and continues to forbid her to have sexual relations, for she fears that she may become pregnant. Now for 848 a girl, becoming pregnant without having concluded a contract 558 of maintenance with a man is an extreme shame, for that means she is not worth anything.

/156 cont./

586 [128] The estimate of the average number of divorces for women born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

586 593 178 The increase in frequency of divorces among young women is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

836 Lomé (L2, F74, Boniville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was deflowered by N..., who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Asadam (K, Boniville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten; she continued to see him. Now this is extremely shameful for a girl because it is placing herself in a state [558] of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

582 Her brother Amèmbé beat her, and she ended up by marrying Pitipiti (Aw.B.2, Asisi village), who formally asked 586 587 for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Djoni (Kotika village).

584 Aguba (D.u, G14), girl of Asisi-Dju village, born in 1941, had been proposed to with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Païtiki (L2, Loka village), a young man of 18. It was 584 585 agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But Païtiki did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestine- [429] ly at the end of a few months. Lènga, Aguba's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the pagi until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few 586 months. /157/ By the end of 1957 Aguba was breaking off with Païtiki and beginning openly to look for adventures.

6:Huegault--256 K-S ;1948-1958, 1961 SRS Push Negroes SP8
Boni

/157 cont./

[589] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry
[589] immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[586] We have cited the example of Aguba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Faifiki /sic/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lènga who brought her up; she was cutting a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concern but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Men used to come to solicit
[836] her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a camisa, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[429] Her guardian Lènga used to press her to take another husband, but she could not forbid her to live thus, having given with the pigi her freedom as a woman.

[589] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

836 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman noticed him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore,
[504] advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /158/

[584] If a woman lacks this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his natal village.